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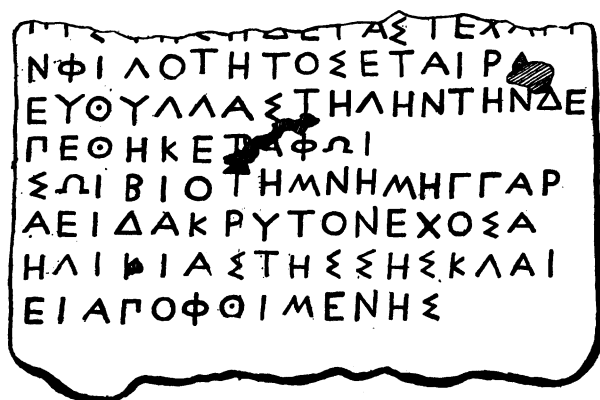
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A SEPULCHRAL INSCRIPTION FROM ATHENS.

On the 4th of last January a dealer in antiquities in Athens brought me a fragment of Pentelic marble bearing a metrical sepulchral inscription. He said that it was found near the Hagia Trias church, *i. e.*, in the Ceramicus. The stone is smooth on the face and on the sides, rough on the back, and broken off in an irregular horizontal line on the top and bottom. The top fracture runs through the middle of the first line, leaving, however, a part of every letter, so that it is quite legible. Four letters in the other lines are slightly defaced, but not erased. The bottom fracture runs about .015 m. below the last line of the inscription. The stone is, in general, .06 m. thick, .15 m. high. At the bottom the width is .246 m., at the top .242; the width is the width originally given by the stone-dresser. It will be noticed that it tapers toward the top. There are no traces of color. I bought the stone, after convincing myself of its undoubted genuineness. I gave it lately to the National Museum at Athens.



This copy of the inscription is made directly from the stone, being traced through a paper impression and compared afterwards

with the original. In minuscules, in later spelling, and arranged with regard to its metrical form, it is as follows :

Πιστῆς ἡδείας τε χάρι | ν φιλότῃτος ἑταῖρα |
 Εὐθυλλα στήλην τήνδ' ἐ | πέθηκε τάφῳ |
 σῶ Βιότη μνήμην γὰρ | αἰὲ δακρυτὸν ἔχουσα |
 ἡλικίας τῆς σῆς κλαί | ει ἀποφθιμένης |

"Because of faithful and sweet friendship, thy companion Euthylla has placed this stone upon thy grave, Biote ; for thy memory she forever cherishes with tears as she laments for thy perished youth."

The inscription probably belongs to the early part of the fourth century B. C. It has been compared carefully with many inscriptions of the fifth and fourth centuries, public and private, in the National Museum and elsewhere in Athens.¹ It has been compared with all the accessible late fifth century inscriptions quoted by Köhler in his article, *Die attische Grabsteine des fünften Jahrhunderts* ;² and in the forms of the letters and the arrangement of the whole it shows an advance upon those inscriptions. The characters, in general, are post-Euclidean. Γ and Λ appear instead of λ and λ . Η is no longer the *spiritus asper*, but is η³. Ω is in use. There is no sign for the *spiritus asper*, as we see from ΕΤΑΙΡΑ. All the letters of the post-Euclidean alphabet are exhibited except ζ, ξ and ψ, which are not needed in this inscription. The forms for these letters in documents of the early fourth century are Ι, Ξ and Ψ⁴. The arrangement is στοιχηδόν. Ο is used to denote ο and the pseudo-diphthong ου.

¹ A public document recording an act of the year B. C. 408. (*CIA*, IV, p. 166, 62^b) is in characters which closely resemble those of this epitaph. Lolling, who first published that inscription in the *Δελτίον Ἀρχαιολογικόν*, 1888, pp. 206-207, speaks of the characters as post-Euclidean, and notes their appearance in this document as peculiar. Kirchhoff, in *CIA*, I. c., says, *Indies enim crebrescente illa aetate Ionicae litteraturae usu facile potuit fieri, ut etiam non iussi populi decreto lapidariae pro arbitrio ea uti occiperent*.

² *Mitth. Athen.*, x. p. 359 ff.

³ Compare ΗΟΡΟΞ | ΚΡΕΝΕΞ, *CIA*, IV, p. 51, 499^a; KÖHLER; *Mitth. Athen.*, II, p. 183. See MEISTERHANS, *Gram. d. att. Inschriften*, § 3, 6.

⁴ For Ι see *CIA*, II, 5; for Ξ, *CIA*, II, 3; for Ψ, *CIA*, II, 2 and 5. These inscriptions are in the National Museum in Athens, and closely resemble this epitaph in lettering. Compare MEISTERHANS, § 3, 4.

These facts agree with an early date in the fourth century.⁵ It is true that the Ionic alphabet was used in Attic sepulchral inscriptions as early, at least, as the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, and this epitaph might therefore be of the fifth century; yet, in the absence of internal evidence to the contrary, inherent probability justifies us in assigning it to the early part of the fourth century.

The letters are well cut, being sharp and true in line, and, with a few exceptions, well shaped. Most of them are one cm. in height. Θ Ο Ω are a little less than that. The slanting strokes of Κ do not reach to a level with the ends of the hasta. The outside strokes of Μ are at an angle with the vertical, and the upper and lower strokes of Ξ are slanting. In Ν the angles are not on a level with the ends of the vertical strokes. Ω is rather clumsily made.

So far as the literary form of the inscription is concerned, we have a graceful and well-written epigram consisting of two elegiac distichs. The diction is poetical and the rhythm musical. I have noted a few features of versification, chiefly in the light of Professor Allen's article *On Greek Versification in Inscriptions* in Vol. iv of the *Papers of the American School*. Final α in Εὔθυλλα is long by position before initial στ, no case of which is cited by Allen⁶; α in δακρυτόν is short before κρ.⁷ The elision of final ε in τήνδε is exhibited graphically.⁸ Final ν in μνήμην is assimilated by the influence of the following initial γ.⁹ There is a case of weak hiatus in κλαίει ἀποφθιμένης.¹⁰ Ἀποφθιμένης closing the inscription and an elegiac distich will be noted by all who are familiar with sepulchral epigrams as illustrating a favorite use of either ἀποφθίμενος or φθίμενος.

The name of the deceased, Βιότη, is one which is found occasionally in inscriptions, but not frequently. It is given by E.

⁵ REINACH, *Traité d'Épigraphie grecque*, pp. 296, 261; ROBERTS, *Greek Epigraphy*, I, p. 104.

⁶ ALLEN, as above, *Papers*, iv., pp. 79-99.

⁷ ALLEN, p. 81.

⁸ ALLEN, p. 141. Compare MEISTERHANS, § 23.

⁹ MEISTERHANS, § 41.

¹⁰ ALLEN, pp. 105-107; HADLEY-ALLEN, *Greek Grammar*; 75 D. e.

Curtius¹¹ as one of the rarer female names *delatus ex schedis meis et diurnis atticis*. It is found in two inscriptions, one possibly, and the other certainly, from Smyrna.¹² It occurs in at least nine inscriptions cited by Koumanoudes.¹³ In five instances the person thus named was from Heraclea, while the sixth¹⁴ came from Miletus, and the provenience of two¹⁵ is unknown. One only was from an Attic deme.¹⁶ To these may be added at least one in the *Corpus Inscr. Atticarum*,¹⁷ provenience unknown, not cited by Koumanoudes. The name also occurs, as it is well known, in the inscription discovered by Dr. Waldstein in Eretria something over a year ago.¹⁸ A masculine name, Βίωτος, sometimes occurs. Pape¹⁹ cites several instances, one from an Attic deme.²⁰ In Koumanoudes it appears as the name of a Milesian.²¹

The name Εὔθυλλα is found here, so far as I know, for the first time. I cannot discover it in Pape, or in any of the indices. The masculine Εὔθυλλος occurs in a Delphian inscription.²²

The monument before us is a private grave-stone of the more modest class erected by a woman named Euthylla in honor of a young friend named Biote. That she was young we are justified in inferring from ἡλικίας ἀποφθιμένης. The word ἐταίρα is used

¹¹ CURTIUS, *Inscriptiones Atticae duodecim*, IX.

¹² *CIG*, II, 3143, 3227.

¹³ Κουμανούδης, 'Αττικῆς ἐπιγραφῶν ἐπιτύμβιοι, 918, 1706, 1707, 1708, 1709, 1710, 2077, 2691, 2692.

¹⁴ Κουμανούδης, 2077.

¹⁵ Κουμανούδης, 2691, 2692.

¹⁶ Κουμανούδης, 918: Βιώτη | Κτησίου | "Οθεν | γυνή. See also CURTIUS, as cited in Note 11.

¹⁷ *CIA*, II., 3553.

¹⁸ [B]ΙΟΤΗ | [Α]ΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΟΥ. See Professor RICHARDSON's report, *Am. Jour. of Archaeology*, Vol. VII., p. 246, and Dr. WALDSTEIN in *Nineteenth Century* for 1891, p. 848. I copy the inscription from a paper impression which I made in Eretria on April 8, 1892. The stone is entire, but corroded on the surface on the left side.

¹⁹ PAPE, *Griechische Eigennamen*, s. v. Βίωτος.

²⁰ "Οη. Compare Note 16 above.

²¹ Κουμανούδης, 2078.

²² WESCHER and FOUCART, *Inscriptions recueillies à Delphes*, 403, line 8.

here simply to designate an intimate friend and companion, in the same earlier and nobler sense in which it was used by Sappho :

Τάδε νῦν ἑταιραις

ταῖς ἔμαισι τέρπνα καλῶς ἀείσω (Fr. 11) and

Λάτω καὶ Νιόβα μάλα μὲν φίλαι ἦσαν ἑταῖραι (Fr. 31)

These fragments are both from Athenaeus, who discusses the earlier and later meanings of the word.²³ The word *ἑταῖρος* is used in the same sense in the following sepulchral inscription :

Ἀνθεμίδος τόδε σῆμα · κύκλῳ στεφανοῦσιν ἑταῖροι

μνημείων ἀρετῆς οὐνεκα καὶ φιλίας

Ἀνθεμῖς

Ἡροφίλῃ²⁴

In this case also we have a stone erected either by various friends of Anthemis or by Herophile, one of these friends. A similar instance is perhaps to be found in the inscription :

Οἰνάνθη.

Ἀρισταγόρα²⁵

Several instances of stones erected by friends of the deceased are given by Kaibel.²⁶

I have characterized the stone as one of the more modest class. It may be interesting to inquire what its form may have been. It was not a large stone, as we see from the dimensions of the fragment. It diminished in width slightly as it rose. It was surmounted, perhaps, by a gable-shaped top like a pediment, or by an anthemion painted or carved. This gable or anthemion would be connected by a moulding with the tablet below. Just under the moulding may have been the short inscription of possibly three lines, giving Biote's name in the nominative, her father's

²³ *Deipn.* XIII., 571. Compare MAHAFFY, *Social Life in Greece*, Chap. IX, p. 284. The fragments are given by BERGK, *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*, under the numbers 11 and 31, but he reads *κάλως* and *ἑταιραι*. I have followed the common reading in these words.

²⁴ *CIA*, IV., p. 114, No. 491⁸. Compare KAIBEL, *Epigr. Gr.*, No. 73; *Mitth Athen.*, x, p. 363 (Köhler); *Κουμανούδης*, 2961.

²⁵ *CIA*, II³, p. 323, No. 4044. Very meagre details are given of this inscription.

²⁶ *Epigr. Gr.*, Nos. 488, 619 (from Rome). Possibly we have a similar case in 484, the monument of Kitylos and Dermys.

name in the genitive, her *ethnikon*, if she was a foreigner, her *demotikon*, if she was an Athenian. Or some inscription like *Βιότη ---ου, χρηστέ, χαίρει* may have been placed here. Immediately below may have been painted or carved in low relief some scene in which the friends Biote and Euthylla were grouped as they sometimes had been in life. The reserve of the period of art to which the stone belongs would give us a simple group. We might have Biote sitting, with Euthylla standing before her, clasping her hand, exhibiting the *δεξιώσεις* as a sign of the affection expressed in words in the epitaph. The epitaph would come below the picture or the relief. If there were no work of the pencil or chisel, the epitaph would follow the first inscription with an interval which might be decorated with rosettes or left plain.²⁷

It is fruitless, perhaps, to make any inquiry as to who the persons were whose names appear on this stone. But, after observing the facts noted above, I am tempted to make one or two suggestions. It is an extraordinary thing that the stone was erected by a friend, not by a member of the family of the deceased. From this fact, it would seem to be possible that the dead Biote was not an Athenian, and perhaps that she was from some rather distant region, living in Athens without her family. We have noted that the name is found chiefly among foreigners. Possibly Biote was a slave, one superior in charms of person, mind and heart. The use of *ἐταῖρος* for a fellow-slave is as old as Homer.²⁸ This stone is evidently one of the humbler sort, though vying with any in the simplicity and sweetness of its sentiment, and in the exquisite form of its expression. We have noted that the name Biote is found oftener from Heraclea than from any other place, and it is well known that in the fifth and fourth centuries there were many

²⁷ Compare tablet No. 856 in the National Museum at Athens, given in *CIA*, II.³, pp. 216-217, No. 2724; also No. 86, of an earlier period, given in *CIA*, IV., p. 118, No. 477, k. See STACKELBERG'S *Gräber der Hellenen*, Plates III-VI; PERVANOGLOU, *Grabsteine der alten Griechen*; BAUMEISTER, *Denkmäler*, I. s. v. *Gräber* (Julius), FRIEDERICH-WOLTERS, *Bausteine d. gr. Plastik*, pp. 326-328, with literature there cited.

²⁸ *Odyssey*, XIV. 407, 418; XV. 307. Somewhat reluctantly we may find it not to be impossible that Biote was an *ἐταῖρα* in the later special sense of the word, though the word as used in the epitaph has not that meaning. We must remember that this class of persons included Aspasia.

slaves in Athens, and that they came largely from foreign lands, including the various countries on the Pontus.²⁹

Perhaps I have written more fully of this simple stone than its content will seem to warrant, but it has interested me greatly. Few inscriptions tell so much in so little space, in so good a form. But apart from this, apart from the one new name Euthylla that we meet here, apart from the epigraphical, metrical and grammatical facts illustrated, apart from the suggestions as to reconstruction of the monument, and as to the persons whose names here appear, we are justified in lingering for a few moments over this humble tribute to human grief and human love. For these are peculiar neither to us nor to ancient Athens. These give us fellowship with all ages and with all men. The little stone fell and was buried for centuries. The love that created it lives on forever. Ἡ ἀγάπη οὐδέποτε πίπτει.

WILLIAM CAREY POLAND.

American School of Classical Studies,
Athens, 2 June, 1892.

²⁹ GILBERT, *Gr. Staatsalterthümer*, I, p. 163, who cites Ctesicles as quoted by Athenaeus, VI., 272, B. There were 400,000 slaves in Attica in B. C. 409. See also BÜCHSENSCHÜTZ, *Besitz und Erwerb*, I, Chap. 3, and particularly pp. 118-119. Of course, as several places bore the name of Heraclea, it would be unfair to assume that every Βιόνη Ἡρακλεώτις came from Heraclea on the Pontus. See *Collection of Greek Inscriptions of the British Museum*, Part I, p. 149, No. 100 (Hicks's note.)